

Message Text

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PAGE 01 MAPUTO 00800 141521Z

44

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MAPUTO 0800

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, RH, MZ

SUBJECT: TRAVEL OF ANC LEADER BISHOP ABEL MUZOREWA, ANC
VIEWS OF ZIMBABWEAN LEADERSHIP CRISIS AND ON
PRESIDENTS KAUNDA AND MACHEL

1. EMBASSY JULY 13 ISSUED B-1 VISA VALID UNTIL NOVEMBER 12, 1976
TO ANC LEADER BISHOP ABEL MOZOREWA. BISHOP IS PLANNING TO DEPART
MAPUTO JULY 16 FOR LUSAKA AND THEN TO FLY TO US ON JULY 20
TO ATTEND CONFERENCES SPONSORED BY NEW YORK-BASED NATION
COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

2. BISHOP'S PASSPORT WAS BROUGHT TO EMBASSY BY REVEREND
WEBSTER MATUMBA, MUZOREWA'S PERSONAL ASISTANT. WHILE
WAITING FOR VISA TO BE ISSUED, DCM HAD OPPORTUNITY TO
CHAT BRIEFLY WITH MAUAMBA ABOUT "ZIMBABWEAN LEADERSHIP
CRISIS" AND ANC APPREHENSIONS ABOUT ROLES
KAUNDA AND MACHEL ARE PLAYING IN ZIMBABWEAN STRUGGLE.

3. ZIMBABWEAN LEADERSHIP CRISIS. MUTAMBA SAID THAT ZIMBABWEAN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MAPUTO 00800 141521Z

LEADERSHIP PROBLEM WAS DUE TO DOGGED REFUSAL OF ZAPU LEADER

JOSHUA NKOMO TO REJOIN TO ANC. NKOMO RETAINS THE BELIEF THAT HE CAN PERSUADE SMITH TO NEGOTIATE WITH HIM AND THAT HE HAS A LARGE FOLLOWING IN RHODESIA. BOTH OF THESE NOTIONS ARE FALSE. SMITH IS STUBBORN AND WILL NOT MAKE CONCESSIONS UNLESS HE IS PUT UNDER INCREASED MILITARY AND POLITICAL PRESSURE. AS FOR NKOMO'S SUPPORT INSIDE RHODESIA, MUTAMBA SAID IT HAS WITHERED AWAY BECAUSE OF HIS REFUSAL TO AGREE TO A RAPPROCHMENT WITH BISHOP MUZOREWA AND THE ANC. ZIMBABWEANS NOW FEEL THAT ANY FUTURE NKOMO-SMITH AGREEMENT WILL ONLY RESULT IN A SELLOUT OF AFRICAN INTERESTS.

4. ANC APPREHENSION ABOUT KAUNDA. MUTAMBA ATTRIBUTES NKOMO'S RELUCTANCE TO REJOIN TO ANC DIRECTLY TO PRESIDENT KAUNDA. ACCORDING TO MATAMBA, NKOMO IS KAUNDA'S MAN. MATAMBA SAID THAT AS EARLY AS DECEMBER 1974, WHEN NKOMO, SITHOLE, CHIKEREHA AND MUZOREWA SIGNED THE LUSAKA UNITY PACT AT STATE HOUSE, KAUNDA HAD ALREADY MADE UP HIS MIND TO SUPPORT NKOMO AS ZIMBABWE'S FIRST AFRICAN "PRESIDENT" AND TO GIVE HIM THE EXTRA SUPPORT NEEDED TO STRENGTHEN HIS POSITION. FOR EXAMPLE, HE SAID KAUNDA GAVE NKOMO SEVERAL CARS, MONEY AND SECRETARIAL AND POLITICAL ASSISTANCE FROM STATE HOUSE IN LUSAKA. THESE SAME AMENITIES WERE NOT EXTENDED TO THE OTHER LEADERS IN ADDITION, ZIMBIAN DIPLOMATS AT OAU MEETINGS TENDED TO FAVOR NKOMO'S POSITION ON ZIMBABWEAN ISSUES. BECAUSE OF KAUNDA'S FAVORITISM TOWARD NKOMO, THE ANC NO LONGER TRUSTED KAUNDA, ALTHOUGH IT WAS OUT OF NECESSITY CONTINUING TO WORK WITH HIM.

5. AND MACHEL. WHEN ASKED WHETHER THE ANC FELT ITS GREATEST SUPPORTER AMONG THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS WAS MACHEL, MATAMBA REPLIED THAT THE BISHOP AND THE ANC DISTRUSTED MACHEL AS WELL, ALTHOUGH FOR DIFFERENT REASONS. MACHEL WAS TOO CONCERNED ABOUT FIGHTING AND IDEOLOGY. MACHEL WAS CONVINCED THAT, BECAUSE MOZAMBIQUE GAINED ITS INDEPENDENCE "THROUGH THE BARREL OF THE GUN", THIS WAS THE ONLY WAY ZIMBABWE COULD OBTAIN ITS FREEDOM. ALTHOUGH THE ANC LEADERS RECOGNIZED THAT THE ARMED STRUGGLE WAS NECESSARY, THEY DID NOT APPRECIATE THE IDEOLOGICAL INDOCTRINATION THAT MACHEL WAS PREACHING TO THE ANC AND THE FIGHTING CADRE. MUTAMBA THEN SAID THAT MACHEL DID NOT REALIZED THAT THE "FRELIMO EXPERIMENT" WOULD NOT WORK IN ZIMBABWE. ZIMBABWE AND MOZAMBIQUE WERE TWO DIFFERENT PLACES.

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PAGE 03 MAPUTO 00800 141521Z

HE SAID MOZAMBIicans WERE "POLITICALLY UNSOPHISTICATED" AND POORLY EDUCATED AT THE TIME OF INDEPENDENCE. THIS WAS NOT THE CASE IN ZIMBABWE. ZIMBABWEANS ARE POLITICALLY AWARE AND "BY AFRICAN STANDARDS" WELL EDUCATED. (MUTAMBA CLAIMED THAT THERE WERE APPROXIMATELY 2500, ZIMBABWEANS WITH BAS, 1500 WITH MA AND 500 WITH PH. DS.) THE ANC BELIEVES THAT "THE PARTY SHOULD CONTROL THE GUN (THE ARMY), NOT THE GUN CONTROLLING THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE." MOZAMBIQUE WAS A CASE OF THE LATTER.

6 BEFORE DEPARTING MUTAMBA SAID THAT THE OAU MEETING HAD NOT GONE WELL FOR THE ANC AND GAVE THE REPORTING OFFICER COPIES OF BISHOP MUZOREWA'S MAURITIUS OAU SPEECH AND A COPY OF THE OAU RESOLUTION ADOPTED ON ZIMBABWE. (TEXTS BEING POUCHED TO DEPARTMENT.)

7 COMMENT: ON BASIS CONVERSATIONS EMBOFFS HAVE HAD WITH MUGABE, TEKERE AND MUTAMBA IN LAST FEW DAYS, IT APPEARS THESE ZIMBABWEAN POLITICAL LEADERS HAVE RESERVATIONS ABOUT MACHEL AND HIS POLICIES. ALTHOUGH BOTH BISHOP MUZOWERA'S ANC AND ROBERT MUGABE'S ZANU ARE WILLING TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF MOZAMBIQUE'S HOSPITALITY, LONG FRONTIER WITH RHODESIA, AND WILLINGNESS TO ACTIVELY AID THE ZIMBABWEAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THEY ARE OPENLY OPPOSED TO MACHEL'S MARXIST IDEOLOGY, ANTI-DEMOCRATIC TENDENCIES AND MILITARIST ORIENTATIN, WHICH THEY BELIEVE HAVE NO RELEVANCE FOR AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE. HE IRONY IS THAT WHILE THE ANC AND ZANU (UNDER MUGABE) SEEM TO BE MORE CONFORTABLE WITH ZAMBIA'S POLITICA SYSTEM, THEY ARE CLEARLY UPSET BY KAUNDA'S ALLEGED SUPPORT FOR NKOMO AND HIS (KAUNDA'S) RELUCTANCE TO GET INVOLVED IN THE LONG GUERILLA STRUGGLE THAT MAY BE NECESSARY TO OUST SMITH. UNDER THESE CONDITIONS, THE ANC AND ZANU ARE COUGHT IN THE MIDDLE AS KAUNDA AND MACHEL PROMOTE THEIR OWN INTERESTS AND JOCKEY TO GET THEIR OWN FAVORITES IN LINE TO SUCCEED IAN SMITH.
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